177 /144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

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461 The spare time which women gained was not used
855 toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls
461 is always with them. During the rest of the time women
574 visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense,
462 from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be
443 cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and
462

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua.

M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads.

M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over"

M 471 443 563

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C 647 563 152 829

generally agree in this matter. She said that there could not have been a law compelling colonization as there is not enough room to care for all the lepers here, who number in the thousands (though India and Africa are worse off). So, many lepers are still at large. Generally, those who enter are those who either fear infection spreading to their relatives, or those whose relatives won't have them around, or those whom the kampong compels to leave their local community. But they have a happy life in a way, and this impresses the native mind, because they get free and good food, good houses, etc. The nurse said that there is some trouble in getting them to work as they will not do so unless they have to. Nevertheless, they do all the work needed and the place is well cared for, in fact, spotless. She said that psychologically there was little trouble with the native lepers but that Europeans almost went crazy. I saw only one Eurasian little girl. They weave their own clothes. I saw a backbar loom here [in the leper asylum at Bolombaru--Analyst] and another in the old man's house. All girls can weave, and practically all sarongs are homemade. I saw some beauties. And now I know how the weaving is done. The colors are really amazing. They weave a long narrow strip, perhaps thirty inches, and cut and sew to make a sarong. This takes from three to seven days. One military doctor comes here three times a week. The rest of the work is done entirely by the patients. The nurse said she liked her work and seemed to be in excellent spirits. I told her that I would give them old detective books. An old man [a patient in the leper asylum, Balombaru--Analyst] (photograph) said that he had formerly been captain of a prau. He had made a fine model of one like his for his son, and was quite proud to show it off. He said that he had sailed wherever there was trade, and that formerly he might be away from three to four years. He said that he had gone to Surabaja, Cheribon, Semarang, Batavia, Padang, Singapore, Siam, Penang, and even China. He had once had a chance to go to the United States (how?) but did not go. He showed me a picture of himself when he was in Java in the old days. It showed him, his former wife, and another couple. All were wearing horn rimmed glasses (property of the photographer?). He was dressed in a dark coat, wide "slicker" pants of the twenties and a necktie. He was not at all hesitant about talking of his former wife. He said that this one was still in Java with one child. He said he had only one male child by his present wife, but that he had many other children by others. He even seems uncertain as to how many wives, exactly, he has had. There

164 743 758 [753] [461] [286] 159

517 are mad about movies and this shows a trememdous poten-
546 tial value for visual education here. Indeed, the only out-side amusement is the movies.

526 As for sports, there is a badminton court in the kampong,
367 but it is near Watumpone. In Watumpone they play soccer and the kampong boys do this too except that they do not have a field within the kampong. They also play the real rattan-ball football. In addition, but only in Watumpone, a few people play tennis. Probably no one from the kampong does this.

524 As for games, they have children's games, but evidently not many. One is a sort of tag in a square. Then there are kites, especially (only ?) after the rice harvest. Children fly kites, but fathers pretending to help the children often take over the kites. Andi is amused by this pretention. They
525 have a string-sawing kite contest too. There is much gam-
541 bling with dice, but evidently no cards. No chess or checkers are found here. There are cock fights but they are illegal. They know about cricket fights. They are a bit reticent on all this, perhaps because it is secret.

517 There are no real local arts aside from crafts. These
53 people are not at all artistic. Even their weaving is banal, except for the colors. This is their one beauty spot. The designs are in checks, plaid, or consist entirely of horizontal stripes. The designs are dull except for the colors. And aside from the padjoge there is no dancing. There is no carving of stone, and but little wood carving on houses. There is practically no music and the people do not go in much for any instruments. They did say that they play flutes, which is true especially for those who watch the water buffalo. There is no drama at all. There is no painting except for a few banal efforts on the houses. Poor stuff, poor people.

517 As for leisure, that depends on a number of variables.
538 Some of the farmers work all day except for midday. Some
368 who have office jobs have regular hours. I didn't get very
● 461 far on this. In their spare time they mainly sit, walk, talk.
549 They almost never read, but said that if they could get books they might read a lot. But there are no books available. They agreed that a library is sadly needed. I was surprised that they said that there was very little if any story-telling. This checks with the Minangkabau man who could get no stories here. They haven't even got imagination enough to tell tales. Maybe in the kampong I could find some, but clearly they
517 reflect the general poverty in this sphere. As for the desire
181 to go where there is more entertainment, more fun, the general impression is that there is not much of an urge in

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462 DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX--activities customarily performed exclusively or predominantly by males or by females; activities forbidden to or despised by one sex; activities in which both sexes participate (e.g., jointly, alternatively); routine tasks and relative economic contribution of each sex; sex-limited occupations and professions; etc. This category is designed primarily for summary statements about sex specialization; incidental information will frequently appear only under the headings for specific activities. See also:

Daily routine 512
Relative status of the sexes 562
Household division of labor 592
Relations between husband and wife 593
Specialization by age 561, 857, 883, 887

592
602 /31 cont./ By way of summary it can be stated that 40 of these 61 /32/ are first- or second-degree relatives of the basal married couple, and that 52 of the 61 are first-, second-, or third-degree relatives.

The conclusion therefore is that in the majority of cases a house is occupied by one family, that in general only unmarried, older and younger, kinsmen are taken into the house, and that more distant kinsmen (fourth degree and further removed) are only taken in if they have no close relatives. Uncles and aunts, accordingly, are only taken into the house by their respective nephews and nieces if they themselves are childless.

It is noteworthy that one of the three just-mentioned "distant cousins" set up a little house for himself shortly after the registration date. "He finds that more pleasant," was given as explanation.

If one excludes the group of 9 grandchildren, it seems reasonable, in the case of the 52 remaining persons to ascertain whether they are kinsmen of the man or of his wife. It appears that in 19 of the 52 cases someone lives in the house on the basis of his kin connection to the man, and in 33 cases on the basis of his kinship to the wife. Unless these figures [591] are too small to draw conclusions, a slight preference for living with relatives on the mother's side would seem to be indicated. A similar result was produced by the investigation into marriage residence. At this point, a report on this subject seems in order.

Marriage Residence

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562 In accordance with the division of labor between the sexes in Makassarese society, the task of providing for the children, preparing the food, the weaving of sarongs and keeping them clean, and all matters which can be done in and around the house fall to the women. House and grounds constitute the woman's domain. Separation of the sexes is very marked.

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely [592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were 252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

[556]

2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 592 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

286 /37 cont./ 1. Here again the Kapala group appeared to be comparatively the best provided. In its 81 houses, 73 looms were found; in the 18 houses of the Mangenre group, 11; and in the 30 houses of the Rest group, 17. In a few houses I observed two looms.

looms in their own houses and are therefore dependent upon kinsmen for use of one. Wherever the household is incapable of fulfilling a certain task, the latter is taken over by the related group. It is safe to assume that the lack of yarn during more than five consecutive years, in any case until 1948, the year of this registration, was the reason that no new looms were acquired, while disuse caused many of them to deteriorate. The remaining 101 will therefore probably be used up after a few years.

602 476 One can observe regularly that female relatives "get" from each other a household article or a few ingredients for a meal. In such a case one does not speak of borrowing, and it is not regarded as such, for these are all everyday matters. Without these items one is helpless, and therefore they use them among each other. Soap, rice (beras), and a saucepan are apparently equally common articles, but these definitely do not go from hand to hand every day. What is stated here applies to female relatives; among them this [609] mutual assistance is a matter of course. But they have a different attitude toward a non-relative. Should she come to get something several times in a row, there are many ways of making clear to her that this is little appreciated.

●462 The men have the task of bringing home from pasar, garden, or sawah whatever is necessary for daily existence. They cultivate the sawah and garden. They provide the women with

462 /37 cont./ rice, maize, fish, petroleum, and soap; a little extra is regarded as special attention and appreciated as such. They handle the tools in repairs of the house or in the manufacture or /38/ repairing of objects in daily use. The household always constitutes the center of these activities. Male members of the household work together at these jobs. Neighbors as well as kinsmen give a hand if the forces of a single house are insufficient for a certain job.

By no means does every house have its own plow. Fifty-nine plows were counted (1) for the 129 houses. A plow

1. Here again the Kapala group was the best provided: 44 plows for 81 houses. The Mangenre group possessed 6 plows for 18 houses, and the Rest group 9 plows for 30 houses. The close connection of these figures to the distribution of the sawah lands among these three groups will be discussed below.

is placed at the disposal of kinsmen as a matter of course (2)

2. This is easily possible in this district because the sawahs are situated at various heights and therefore must also be plowed at different times in connection with the water level.

although strangers have to rent one at expensive rates.

Kinsmen who are at the same time neighbors help each other in overcoming the small difficulties of daily life.

612 /62 cont./ always had a leading role at the conferences
793 concerning the expenses of the wedding feast, and so forth, which always precede the marriages. He knew the wedding song and was a valued expert on, and healer of, diseases. The title of such a functionary is sanro. With one single exception, he was called in for help in all these matters only by the members of the Kapala group. He further managed the harvest festival, which involved the entire territory /63/ of Bontoramba and in which, for that reason, members of other groups also took part. In ordinary life he did not distinguish himself either in clothing or outward appearance from other residents of Bontoramba.

796 He himself prepares the essence of what is offered, the
462 parappo. The further preparation of the ritual, which is very detailed and consumes a great deal of time, is carried out by the women. Each and every one of the women is better informed about ritual matters than the men. The preparation of the offerings, the hallowing of the water to be used at the ritual, the hallowing of the bowls and dishes from which they will eat, the finding of leaves of a special, prescribed nature necessary at the ritual, the making of the candles (kandjoli), all these are elements of the ritual taken care of by the women. They are also not activities familiar to every one of them. The names of the leaves and the arrangement of the offerings have their own significance. In these things one may not make a mistake. An informant once characterized the situation by saying, "Islam is the religion of the men, ancestor worship that of the women." Whenever there is no pinati present, therefore, one will see one of the older women taking his place. At small festivities concerning a /nuclear/ family, the women frequently conducted the ritual themselves. The pinati functions where the entire community is involved in the festival.

858 /143 cont./ Boys seem to go through a difficult period
867 at the age of approximately eleven to fourteen years. Before that, despite small differences from the girls, they were considered to be children, and as such they quite naturally stayed in the women's rooms. But around the age of ten to eleven, the older women make it plain to them that they
561 no longer belong there. Compared to women, however, men
562 have less unity. For them the difference in age plays a much more important role. It prevents the smooth interaction between older and younger men, because the older expect
561 obedience and a certain respect from the younger. The young
855 boys therefore find no unity in the group of men which makes
858 them feel at home. At the same time they do not possess the sexual maturity to participate in the boasting conversations about conquests and sexual achievements that are customary in the circle of young men. They are physically not yet strong enough to participate in brawls and great work schemes, and therefore they cannot talk about their exploits. They do not count among the fifteen- to eighteen-year-olds. At the same time these twelve-year-old boys have not yet had much opportunity to associate with each other. So they first look for their age mates. They roam around, they are little noticed, and they don't feel at home anywhere.

Division of Labor

462 The domain of the women is house and yard. There they cook, wash, weave, and take care of the children. They leave the house only to pay visits or to run over to neighbors, who are also the closest kinsmen. When male visitors arrive they withdraw into the back part of the house. There is the kitchen; there they have their own separate
462 entrance. One could regard the women as a group whose
476 members /144/ help each other with daily household problems,

462 476 /144 cont./ whose older members supervise the younger ones, and at the same time protect and lead them. This group forms a unit with respect to the group of men, but it does not act jointly otherwise.

462 The activities of women tie them to house and yard. Among their tasks are pounding rice, preparation of daily meals, festive meals, and offerings. Furthermore, they are charged with the spinning of yarn, weaving of sarongs, laundering and maintenance of clothes, and the care of small children. Except at harvest time women do not work in the sawahs (1).

[243]

1. A poor district, such as the vicinity of Takalar where plantings frequently have to be done several times because the first attempts fail, constitutes an exception. There the women help with planting.

[443] Older women who need a job on the side, sell home-made cookies at pasars and festivals. Sometimes they keep a small coffee warong /shop/.

177 462 At the present time a comparatively large number of these activities have been taken away from the women. Spinning practically no longer occurs. Commercial yarns [283] have taken the place of homespun products. During the Japanese period a temporary revival of spinning was note in a number of districts where the imported yarns could not fill the demand. Weaving decreased because of the large [286] import of cheap sarongs. Only better ones continued to be woven at home. Where rice mills are established, pounding [252] at home becomes an unnecessary drudgery (2).
[256]

/144 cont./ 2. As yet there is no rice mill in Goa. In the colonists' kampongs, 200 kilometers north of Macassar, the men do the pounding for the landowner, but not for their own consumption. Rice-pounding wages are high.

The spare time which women gained was not used toward new objectives. It was devoted to small children who are not let out of sight for a moment. In the house or in the yard their own mother or one of the neighbor's girls is always with them. During the rest of the time women visit each other. This promotes companionship and strengthens their mutual ties. They exchange kampong and family news and drink coffee on these occasions. These visits are always paid in little groups of a number of older women and a few younger ones, nicely dressed, accompanied by one of their closest male kinsmen.

/145/ Men's work is in the sawahs in the broadest sense, from manufacturing agricultural implements to carrying in sheaves of paddy. Furthermore, it is their job to work in the garden, to construct and repair the house, as well as to do all the little tasks in which wood or bamboo must be cut down or worked. They run errands at the pasar (1) and

1. In early July, 1949, the visitors to the Pasar Bontomanai (Borongloë) were registered as 62 women and 904 men.

443 /145 cont./ bring home necessities for the daily fare. They
462 go around alone or with a number of men of their own age. Men and older boys are to be found together at the pasars, in the warong /shops/, or in the livingrooms of houses.

462 The activities of men and women therefore complement
562 each other. One cannot do without the other. There exists the notion that a man is less fortunate, as it were more helpless, if his wife does not serve him a meal, than a woman if her husband does not provide her with the necessities for this meal. After all, she still has the opportunity of getting some vegetables and fruits from the surrounding gardens.

562 Forms of social intercourse among men differs from that
554 of women. This is evident during festive occasions. At the
576 meal the men are seated in rows according to rank and status
571 with the highest man present at the top; he talks while the
521 others eat and at the right moment burst into a laugh of assent. One of them may know how to inspire the speaker for another story by an encouraging comment. Not every topic can be discussed at such a time; it must be a general event. The narration may be boastful, and the narrator may place himself in the center of the story since, after all, those present share in the standing he won in this manner. The superiors each have a bowl with side dishes before them. Their neighbors share one bowl among two or three people, and at the lower end, among the lower, or younger, men, four or even more eat from the same bowl.

521 The form of social intercourse make a stiff impression.
562 Immediately after the meal is finished the men get up and
571 go in small groups to neighboring houses to chat with each other. At that time the formal tone is abandoned. Contemporaries seek each other's company. Now they are free in their actions and speech.

177 /148 cont./ stabbing are severely punished. The tension
527 of real danger is lacking. On this occasion there is certainly
571 no question of any contact between a young man and woman
579 since the surveillance is extra strict.

Another opportunity for contact exists at the harvest.
243 During the cutting, women remain together. Young men
462 have the task of gathering the sheaves of ears which the
571 women have cut. The passing of sheaves between women
834 and men presents a chance for contact. The man repeatedly warns that he is coming to get the ears. A certain tension arises from his call. The bundle is transferred /149/ by turning the stalks of the ears toward the man so that he can easily take the sheaf without touching her hand. A young girl who is taking part in the cutting for the first time learns from her older sisters or cousins how this must be done. If
[576] she hands him the sheaf in an incorrect manner, it is refused by the young man who comes to get the sheaves. In so doing, he indicates that he knows his manners and that he does not want to abuse her inexperience.

571 A similar opportunity exists at a feast. At such an
574 occasion the men sit in the front room. The women hand
834 the dishes from the kitchen to the young men, who then place them before the guests. Usually one of the middle-aged women hands the stream of dishes and plates to the other sex on the threshold of the front and back rooms, but in between times younger women may also help. A young man has no chance of contact at such times, but at least he has a chance of seeing a girl and of being seen by her, at least he has a chance of drawing her attention to him.

571 Secret contact in most cases takes place with the aid of
834 a third person. This must be someone who is able to talk
857 to both parties without this being noticed. Only little boys
887 of around seven to nine years of age and women above

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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Before the commencement of the Dikir on the occasion of the Maulud festival in Laikang. Dikir is men's work; a girl is jokingly chased away. Page 193.

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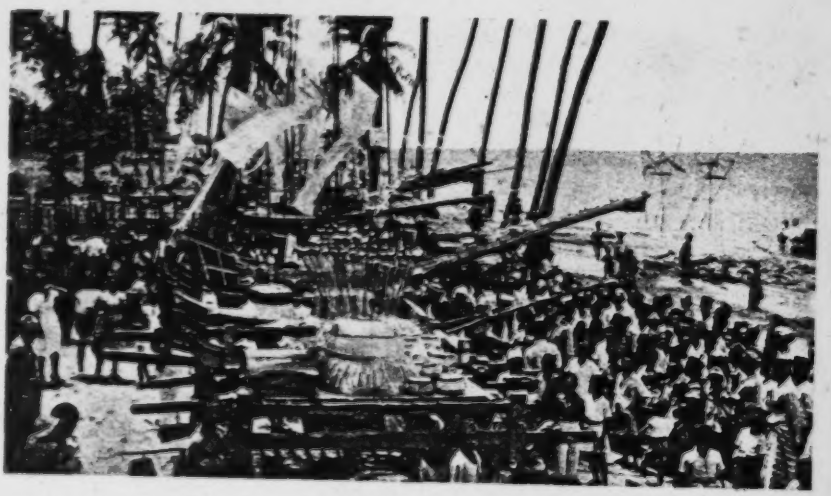

General view of the Maulud festival in Laikang. The scaffolds are sent in by kampongs. In their size and construction the competitive spirit between kampongs finds expression.

[end plate 4]

Makassar OG6 773 759

this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in. 829 565

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so. 565 583

Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog. 565 342 554 224

I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth. 287

There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng. 326

Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory. 462 463 286 256 339

Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist. 463 326

I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see. 851 567

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and water pipes. But in general, things are not too different from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing, however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.
178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.
[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid changes in American material culture in the past fifty years they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323 here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
462] women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that now there was much butter used by the commoners and this was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
241 cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco, Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Frequently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts.